

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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E O.11652:GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT:MBFR: ASSURANCES TO THE OTHER SIDE REGARDING
PHASE II

REFS: NATO 2813, NATO 2740, VIENNA 4649

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

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1. IN DISCUSSION WITH ALLIES ON ISSUE OF ASSURANCES, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. FOR PURPOSES OF CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND AND IN TERMS OF GOAL OF ACHIEVING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PHASING CONCEPT, ALLIES ONLY REQUIRE FORMULATION WHICH GIVES ASSURANCES ABOUT EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, WHICH WAS PURPOSE OF US SUGGESTED FORMULATIONS. WE HAVE OFFERED OUR FORMULATIONS IN ORDER TO GIVE SOVIETS ASSURANCES THAT STATES OTHER THAN THE US WOULD ALSO TAKE REDUCTIONS, WITHOUT SINGLING OUT ANY PARTICULAR EUROPEAN ALLY.

B. US IN CONTEXT OF PHASE I HAS ALREADY COMMITTED ITSELF TO REDUCE AND OUR FORMULATION DOES NOT EXCLUDE US REDUCTION IN PHASE II. ALLIES SHOULD ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT AS ONLY ALLY TAKING REDUCTIONS IN PHASE I, USG DECISION ABOUT CHARACTER AND SIZE OF ANY POTENTIAL PHASE II REDUCTIONS DEPENDS IN SOME MEASURE ON PHASE I OUTCOME.

C. AS REGARDS BELGIAN POINT ABOUT US REDUCTIONS AND PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, YOU MAY ASSURE ALLIES THAT US WOULD BE AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS AND HAS NO THOUGHT WHATSOEVER OF ACCEPTING OBSERVER STATUS FOR THAT PHASE. HOWEVER, AS ALLIES ARE AWARE US GOVERNMENT HAS NOT TAKEN ANY FORMAL DECISION ABOUT AMERICAN REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, BECAUSE SUCH A DECISION WOULD IN OUR JUDGMENT BE PREMATURE. NONETHELESS, ALLIES UNDERSTAND THAT UNDERLYING THE AMERICAN PREFERENCE FOR THE "FOCUS UPON" FORMULATION IN PARA 411 OF ALLIED APPROVAL PAPER WAS DESIRE TO ASSURE THAT THERE WOULD BE AN OPTION FOR AMERICAN REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II.

D. IT IS ALSO AN AGREED ALLIED OBJECTIVE TO SEEK SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IN TURN MAY LEAD TO EASTERN PRESSURES FOR US REDUCTIONS. A FORMAL USG DECISION, EVEN FOR INTERNAL ALLIED PURPOSES TO SEEK FURTHER US REDUCTIONS, COULD RESULT IN A VARIETY OF PRESSURES THAT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MANAGE. MOREOVER, FOR PURPOSE OF FORMULATING THE ASSURANCES ABOUT ALLIED PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II WHICH ARE NOW REQUIRED IN THE VIENNA

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NEGOTIATIONS, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO AMERICAN REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II. TO ADOPT SUCH A FORMULA WOULD PREMATURELY LEAD TO DISCUSSION ABOUT SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN THE SECOND PHASE. THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSIONS WOULD BE DRAWN AWAY FROM PHASE I TOWARD DISCUSSIONS OF THE OVERALL REDUCTIONS TO BE ACHIEVED, I.E. TOWARD THE EASTERN CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. ALSO, SOVIET OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED A

DESIRE TO AVOID SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II. AS A TACTICAL MATTER, THEN, IT WOULD BE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO THE OBJECTIVE OF GETTING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THE ALLIED PHASING CONCEPT, TO FORCE A DEBATE ON SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND THEREBY ON THE ENTIRE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF PHASE II.

2. FYI: WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT EVOLUTION OF ALLIED DISCUSSION ON ITEM 4, SPECIFICALLY INCREASING FOCUS ON IDEA OF US REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II. AS SEEN FROM WASHINGTON, FOUR LINKAGE FORMULATIONS WE INITIALLY DEVELOPED ARE PROBABLY MINIMUM NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF ALLIED PHASING GOAL. CURRENT BELGIAN INSISTENCE ON US ASSURANCES AND UK STANCE ARGUING ON THE ONE HAND AGAINST WITHDRAWAL PROVISION, AND ON THE OTHER HAND RESERVING ON ITEM 4, SEEM TO US TO LIMIT PROSPECTS FOR ANY FORWARD MOTION IN PHASING AREA ON BASIS PARTIAL PACKAGE NOW IN AHG HANDS. BROWN

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